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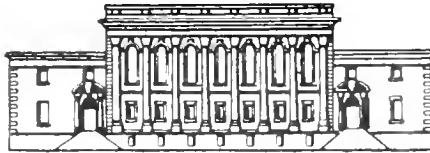
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A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DELINQUENTS

by

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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Since a fictitious name is given to the institution analyzed in the present study, I cannot acknowledge directly the help of all the administrators, social workers, clinical staff and child care workers at Winston. Their hospitality made the research possible and the relationships I had with them a thoroughly enjoyable experience. They helped me, in part, because they thought the present study might help Winston. That is perhaps too much to expect, but at least I hope that it will not bring harm to them or to any of the children at Winston.

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis attempts to determine which, if any, sociological background variables are significantly related to admittance, remaining, discharge, and type of discharge. The theoretical point of departure for this analysis is Cloward and Ohlin's theory on opportunity and delinquency, which states that there are both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities or avenues to reach goals, which can be seen at Winston, the institution analyzed for the present study. Children use these different avenues, which in turn effects whether they are admitted, remain, are discharged, or the type of discharge the institution evokes. Based on previous research five sociological variables were selected, race, religion, age, sex, and type of admission, and these were tested with the categories mentioned above, thus evoking twenty different hypotheses of a child's probable or possible movement in and out of Winston.

Data used to test these hypothetical relationships were obtained during the month of December 1975 at the institution mentioned above, from the files of each individual child as well as from the monthly census. The chi-square test of significance was used to determine that three of the twenty variables are related to movement in and out of the institution as measured. This led to the conclusion that, within the framework of the opportunity structure, further studies of this nature, could result in an accurate predictive model that could be utilized without resorting to in-depth social background testing.

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

A phenomenon so widespread as juvenile delinquency and one arousing so much public concern and evoking so many agencies and programs to deal with it inevitably leads to numerous explanations. Therefore, the justification of this study is based on theory. Theory can set the guidelines for development through the analytical process, as theory is a beginning for further evaluation of the situation in which one is studying. Therefore, the empirical research in this paper will help to indicate the relationship between social factors and behavior occurring among dependent and neglected children in the institution, Winston (pseudo name). The present study will be concerned with what happens to those children when they are recognized as deviants by an authoritative institution, and this concern justifies the study of the various possible factors involved in their delinquency.

In studying institutional care or the notion of residential, which terms will be interchangeable in the present study, one may ask how far the addition of special personnel, educational, and clinical services and programs justifies and benefits the forced removal of the delinquent from the community. Further, it is questioned whether one child can be helped sufficiently in an atmosphere when he or she has individual problems. For example, a child can be brought into court for various offenses. Thus labels such as "incorrigible", "desertion from home", "association with undesirable companions", "truant", are in contrast with children who commit more serious crimes such as theft, prostitution, and rape. The formal charge against a youngster has little diagnostic utility for de-

terming why the youngster is in trouble, or what should be done to rehabilitate him. It may in fact be more descriptive of the community context in which the act occurred.

Institutions which require residence therefore have problems with treatment. An operational definition of the role which an institution plays is applicable here for the further evaluation of possible social factors. The emphasis for the residential institution is rehabilitation, though it has not always been so. The recognition that many maladjustments are reaction to social conditions, and not entirely the responsibility of the individual, has pointed to the need to an interest in cure. Cure, in turn, implies treatment rather than punishment. Since the effectiveness of treatment obviously depends upon the knowledge of the cause of the malady and the conscious use of appropriate procedure, one can see a double-headed dilemma. The first of which is the problem of residential institutions being effective for treatment when evidence suggests that so many are manned by people who consider themselves instruments of punishment. The second problem follows as to the administrator balancing his responsibility to society and to the deviant individual.

The problematical role, cited above, of the residential institution furthers the necessity to clarify the label of delinquent. Who is a delinquent and what are delinquent acts? Delinquency, it is clear, has a variety of meaning in the current literature. The fact that experts cannot agree on a definition, however, does not mean that the phenomenon cannot be measured. The necessary approach is to examine delinquency in as many as possible of its aspects in order to determine what it is and, equally

important, what it is not. Although some texts¹ refer to delinquency as any behavior which a given community at a given time considers in conflict with its best interest--whether or not the offender has been brought to court--such a definition is not being applied in the present study. Rather, the notion of observable behavior, which leads to apprehension, whether by court, parents or police, is essential to the evaluation of delinquents in residential centers. Juvenile delinquency is therefore, for the purposes of the present study, defined as that behavior on the part of children which may, under the law, subject those children to the juvenile court laws. Thus it is, that juvenile delinquency is not defined apart from juvenile court action. This leads the situation back to the residential institution, as it is the duty of the juvenile court to remand the child for residential treatment.

One cannot look at contemporary theories outside the context of previous theories. One cannot, it seems, be situated on a point on a continuum stretching from past to present theories without analyzing the previous theories which have enabled this study to be enacted. The points on the continuum are progressive and will be reviewed in Chapter II. Such schools of thought as somatotype theories, for example, are briefly reviewed to provide a context for contemporary theoretical discussion.

Cesare Lombroso, an Italian criminologist, Ernest Hooton, and E. Kretchmer, are probably the furthest point away on the continuum from the theory which will be presented. Yet the fact that they did study criminal types is an inauguration for further study. Each formulated his own theory,

1

Sophia Robison. Juvenile Delinquency, its Nature and Control, New York, Holt, 1960. p. 86.

but with the basic concept that mental traits were invariably dependent on physiological causes, and it was further postulated that the existence of a "criminal type" represented a primitive and degenerate being, deviating from the normal in physical, mental, and nervous characteristics. Today though, these theories are predominately disregarded because of the new multi factor approach. This is quite different from somatotyping, as environmental factors replace physical ones. The causes of the behavior of a criminal or delinquent are thought to be quite varying as can be seen in the theories of Edwin H. Sutherland, Robert Merton, and Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay. (basic reference for these theorists are Marvin E. Wolfgang. The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency. The brief discussion below is based on essays from this text) These men are important to mention before the actual body of the present paper, because it is necessary to see why delinquent children are the way they are, so that in further analysis of rehabilitation through residential treatment, one can see most clearly through past analysis of these children, the best possible treatment available for their needs.

Sutherland claims no evidence exists that there can be such a phenomenon as a born criminal. Every person is a "potential criminal", but it requires contacts and direction of tendencies to make either a criminal or law abiding person. Sutherland's major thesis is one of "differential association' which belieing inherited criminal characteristics, states that, "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definition favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violations of law."²

2

Wolfgang, Marvin E. The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, U.S.A. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962, p. 200.

Robert Merton also looks outside the biological aspects and committing crime and looks at rather the means and the goals which society offers. He states that the situation of anomie occurs as the goals are emphasized but the means are not accesible to reach those goals. This, claims Merton, produces deviants. Shaw and McKay further Merton's analysis of anomie by stating that deviants within their own society are normal because the means are accepted in this community even though they are not prevalent in the larger one. Clearly, this is a problem which necessitates a study of residence as part of the method of treatment of Merton's anomie explanation as well as that of Emile Durkheim's anomie which can be defined as normlessness. After the analysis of social factors in a residential institution, a method of analysis is essential for the variation within the concepts of residence and within the individual. First though, in Chapter II a more detailed discussion of past theories of criminology. Then, in Chapter III a review of the literature. Chapter IV will examine Winston, the institution used for the present study, in which specific social consigne are predominate in "remaining or leaving" from the institution studied. Finally, the data collected will be presented, analyzed and conclusions drawn in Chapter V.

Theoretical Perspective

Cesare Lombroso one of the first theorists in criminal behavior in his work Crime: Its Causes and Remedies¹ began the study of the anatomy of various criminals hoping to disclose the relationship between body type and personality disorders. Thus the juvenile delinquent would become in Lombroso's theory, a somatotype, in that he is a special order of being different in physique, and mentality from lawabiding citizens. Lombroso's born-criminal type was explained by atavism and degeneracy. Lombroso and his followers, such as E. Kretchmer and E. A. Hootom*, only incidentally touched on the biology of criminal inheritance. They were primarily interested in indices of the criminal type and in measurement of it. Type meant something stable and as changeless as the stigma which were generally found at birth and were not outgrown. Basic explanations were not difficult since the biologist had already discovered and explained that evolutionary quirk, atavism. This accident, this variant, was a throwback to a primitive type or trait, thus the criminal anthropologists proceeded blithely to explain the type by a hereditarian notion, since environment had little effect upon the variant.

Influenced no doubt, by the increasing emphasis on physiological, sociological and anthropological approaches but in understanding individual behavior, Lombroso shifted the focus from the criminal act to the criminal himself. Instead of regarding the individual as an entirely free agent, Lombroso considered him the product of hereditary social forces

1

Cesare Lombroso, Crime: Its Causes and Remedies (Boston: Little, Brown, 1918).

*For review of E. Kretchmer and E. A. Hooton see Clinard, Marshall B., ed. Anomie and Deviant Behavior New York: Free Press, 1964.

found in the genes, which were beyond his individual control.

On the basis of his studies in Germany in the 1920's E. Kretschmer believed that he could classify human beings into three distinct physical types which were differently associated with certain forms of mental illness. The asthenic type, who had a thin nervous build, particularly in the shoulders and chest, long thin arms and delicately shaped hands, was associated with schizophrenia, as was the athletic type. The latter, as the name indicated, was a strong, muscular, well developed physical type with broad shoulders and a thick chest. The pyknic type, on the other hand, was round and fat in appearance and was associated with the manic-depressive psychoses. He further stated that the basic types of body build are supposed to be related to the differential activities of the ductless gland.

In the 1940's E. A. Hooton, a physical anthropologist, made an elaborate study in which he compared several thousand prisoners with a control group. He attempted to revive in many respects the Lombrosian "primitive" man with observable features, such as long thin necks and sloping shoulders, thin lips, more red-brown hair and so on. He stated, in addition, that certain body types of crime, tall, thin men tending to murder and rob; tall, heavy men to kill and commit forgery and fraud; undersized men to steal and to commit burglary; and short, heavy persons to assault, rape and commit other sex offenses.

These studies of the relation of physique to deviant behavior have been attacked on numerous grounds. The first is that they have not actually demonstrated the relation between physique and personality. Hooton tried to suggest that criminal types are the result of the selection to

organically inferior types by the environment. Inferiority is judged by the presence of deviant behavior. Even if an association were proven statistically between constitutional features and behavior, before the theory could be accepted, there would still be a need for an adequate general theory of human nature which would incorporate such findings. The jump from body to temperament is similarly assumed rather than explained. Even if high statistical correlations were to be found, the correlations in themselves might not prove the meaningful association of such variables. Secondly, most of this argument involves, in general, jumping from certain anatomical characteristics to deviant behavior. In nearly all such studies cultural factors either are not to be considered at all or occupy a position subordinate to physical factors. Hooton and Lombroso deal with undefined, unstable, and relative terms like "crime" and "delinquency" which, to them, involve value judgements, and attempt to relate them to a more stable factor such a physique.

Moreover, the contention that certain physical characteristics are by their very nature inferior is simply an assumption--nothing more. The physical appearance of the organism is naturally neither "good" nor "bad".

Furthermore, none of these studies have used adequate controls. Hooton compared 4,200 native white prisoners with 300 non-criminals 150 Nashville firemen and 150 outpatients of a Boston clinic, militiamen, and patrons of a bathhouse. Neither firemen nor militiamen belong in a control group because they are selected on the basis of a physical examination. Nevertheless, the statistical differences between Hooton's criminal and control groups were insignificant; moreover, comparisons of the Nashville and Boston control categories showed greater differences than those between the

criminal and control groups. In Hooton's study, the physical differences among these various types of offenders such as robbers and burglars were almost infinitesimal and generally statistically insignificant.

Lastly, these studies have been largely conducted on institutionalized populations. Lombroso went into prisons to study certain physical traits common among prisoners. What he failed to note however, was that a percentage of the larger population outside also had these characteristics.

Therefore, one must turn to other possible avenues of explanation. Edwin H. Sutherland believes that the immediate factors in criminal behavior lie in the person-situation complex. Person and situation are not factors exclusive of each other he states, for the situation which is important is the situation as defined by the person who is involved. Sutherland further states that criminal behavior is learned. Secondly he agrees that the "criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication".² This communication includes both gesturing and verbalizing. The point that follows from this one is that the principle part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups. Thus newspapers, T.V., and movies play a small part in the criminal learning process. Furthermore, when criminal behavior is learned, the learning includes "a) techniques of committing the crime, which are sometimes very complicated, sometimes very simple; b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes".³ Sutherland's next step includes the notion that the specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definition of legal codes as favorable and unfavor-

2

Marvin E. Wolfgang, The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962, p. 208.

3

Ibid., p. 209.

able. This alludes that society is composed by different types of people, some who conform to the norms, and others who favor the violation of legal norms. Thus there is a culture conflict in relation to the legal codes. One seems to choose then between favorable and unfavorable definitions. Thus when persons become criminals, they do so because of contact with criminal patterns and also because of isolation from anti-criminal patterns. This Sutherland refers to as differential association. Differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. These deal with how long a person continues his deviant behavior depending on how long he associates with other criminals. In his childhood the importance of accepting legal norms was not emphasized and therefore the priority is anti-legal norms. The intensity involves the principle of prestige of the criminal and emotional reactions, to the association. Sutherland goes on to say that the process of learning criminal behavior by association with criminal and anticriminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. This means that criminals do not merely imitate, he learns by association, but this process would not ordinarily be described as imitation. Finally, though criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behavior is an expression of the same needs and values. Thus the attempts to explain criminal behavior becomes futile when discussing general drives and values, such as the "happiness principle, striving for social status, the money motive or frustration",⁴ because they explain lawful behavior as completely as they explain criminal behavior.

⁴

Ibid., p. 210.

Most neighborhoods are organized both for criminal and anti-criminal behavior, and in that sense, the crime rate is an expression of the differential group organization. Differential group organization as an explanation of a crime rate must be consistent with the explanation of the criminal behavior of the person, since the crime rate is a summary statement of the number of persons in the group who commit crimes and the frequency with which they commit crimes.

Robert Merton presents his theory on causation, in that deviant behavior is a symptom of disassociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured ways of realizing them, of a situation of anomie. Modern urban societies emphasize such status goals as material gain and competitive success but provide limited means for everyone to achieve these goals legitimately. Consequently, other means, some illegitimate, may be used to achieve, for example, the goal of material gain; the greatest pressure for deviation arises among the lower socioeconomic groups where the opportunities to acquire material goods are fewer and the level of education is lower. Ordinary stealing, vice, or organized crime may be a way of achieving goals of wealth and power. Among the upper classes and occupations, on the other hand, white collar crime and unethical business practices may be the means of further augmenting their social status through material possessions and power. Members of the middle class may reduce the importance of material gain as a goal by the substitution of middle class moralistic values, although such an attitude may manifest considerable anxiety in their personal relationships. However, the contemporary American culture continues to be characterized by a heavy emphasis on wealth as a basic symbol of success, without a corresponding

emphasis upon the legitimate avenues on which to march towards this goal.

Turning from the culture patterns, Robert Merton examines types of adaptation by individuals within the culture bearing society. Though the focus is still the cultural and social genesis of varying rates and types of deviant behavior, the perspective shifts from the plane of patterns of cultural values to the plane of types of adaptation to these values among those occupying different positions in the social structure.

Merton considers five types of adaptation, as these are "schematically set out in the following table, where (+) signifies acceptance, (-) signifies rejection, and (-⁺) signifies rejection of prevailing values and substitution of new values."⁵

A TYPOLOGY OF MODES OF
INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION

Modes of Adaptation	Culture Goals	Institutionalized Means
I Conformity	+	+
II Innovation	+	-
III Ritualism	-	+
IV Retreatism	-	-
V Rebellion	+ -	+ -

To the extent, states Merton, that a society is stable, adaptation type I-conformity to both cultural goals and, institutionalized means is the most common and widely diffused.

Innovation is produced by great cultural emphasis upon the success-

5

Ibid; p. 241.

goal through the use of institutionally prescribed but often effective means of attaining at least wealth and power. This response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means for its attainment. Incentives for success are provided by the established values of the culture, and second, the avenues available for moving toward this goal are largely limited by the class structure of those of deviant behavior. It is the combination of the cultural emphasis and the social structure which produces intense pressure for deviation.

The ritualistic type of adaptation can be readily identified. It involves the abandoning or scaling down of the "lofty" cultural goals of success and rapid social mobility to the point where one's aspiration can be satisfied. But though one rejects the cultural obligation to attempt "to get ahead in the world", though one does not compete as much, one continues to abide almost impulsively by institutionalized norms. Merton states that individuals caught up in this type of adaptation can still move from one mode to another. Thus ritualists may conform to the institutionalized norms so dogmatically, that they are hiding a possible breach of these norms in the past (adaptation II).

Retreatism, the rejection of cultural goals and institutional means is probably the least common of all the adaptations. This mode of adaptation is most likely to occur when both the cultural goals and the institutions' practices have been thoroughly assimilated by the individual and imbued with affect and high value, but accessible institutional avenues are not productive of success.

Rebellion leads men outside the environing social structure to seek

to bring into being a new, a greatly modified social structure. It presupposes alienation from reigning goals and standards. When the institutional system is regarded as the barrier to the satisfaction of legitimized goals, the stage is set for rebellion as an adaptive response. "The dual function of the myth is to locate the source of large scale frustrations in the social structure and to portray an alternative structure which would not, presumably, give rise to frustration of the deserving."⁶

One of the most general functions of social structure is to provide a basis for predictability and regularity of social behavior, it becomes increasingly limited in effectiveness as these elements of the social structure become disassociated. At the extreme, predictability is minimized and what may be properly called, according to Merton, anomie or cultural chaos supervenes.

Richard Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin (Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, 1960) believe that each individual occupies a position in both legitimate opportunity structure in which the concept of differential opportunity structures permit the union of the theory of anomie, which recognized the concept of unaccessibility of legitimate means, and the "Chicago tradition" in which the concept of differential in access to illegitimate means is implicit. Differential opportunity permits a look at the individual, not simply in relation to one or the other system of means, but in relation to both legitimate and illegitimate systems. Thus, one can see individuals as being located in two opportunity structures - one legitimate, the other illegitimate. Given limited access to success-goals by legitimate means, the nature of the delinquent response that may result may vary according to the availability of

6

Ibid.; p. 243.

various illegitimate means.

The criminal subculture, it is suggested, like the conflict and retreatist adaptation, requires a specialized environment if it is to continue. Unless the careers of criminal and conventional values are closely bound to one another, stable criminal roles cannot develop. A further affinity to the retreatist adaptation can be seen as access to success-goals by illegitimate means diminishes as the lower class adolescent approaches adulthood. Illegitimate avenues to higher status were available during early adolescence and became more obstructed in later adolescence. These new limitations intensify frustration and thus create pressures toward withdrawal or retreatist reactions.

For some adolescents, the peer group is the primary avenue to status as well as the primary source of constraints on behavior. For these adolescents, the post adolescent period during which the group may disintegrate or shift its orientation, is one in which social controls are weakened precisely when tensions are heightened.

Cloward and Ohlin's final statement is that whether the sequence of adaptation is from criminal to retreatist or from conflict to retreatist, it can be insinuated that limitation on legitimate and illegitimate opportunity combine to create intense pressures toward retreatist behavior. When both systems of means are simultaneously restricted, it is not strange that some persons become detached from the social structure, abandoning cultural goals and efforts to achieve them by any means.

For the present study, these theories will be utilized helping to substantiate the methods used, as can be seen in the following chapters.

Chapter III

Review of the Literature and Hypotheses

The discussion of physical, mental, and emotional attributes of delinquents has shown that these traits do not tell the whole story. Even aside from the fact that social background and "environmental" conditions have some effect on physical, mental and emotional constitution, there are many cases that do not show any of these abnormal traits. It is not the purpose in the present study to overestimate the importance of social factors, but it is true, nevertheless, that delinquency is a social fact and not a biological one. Delinquent behavior occurs in a social situation always, a social situation that is the field of operation of persons who are influenced by their past social experiences, by their biological make-up and by the immediate situation itself. Therefore, a review of the literature is applicable here for the further comprehension of juvenile delinquency.

A study by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay shed new light on the factor of broken homes. A threefold problem was investigated, (1) "the incidence of broken homes among boys in areas of different delinquency rates and (2) the incidence of broken homes among boys of different nationalities and finally (3) the incidence of broken homes in different age groups."¹ Personal interviews were employed to determine the family situation in 1929 of 7,278 Chicago school boys. The cases ranged from ten to seventeen years of age, and included all boys within those age limits, attending 29 Chicago schools. These schools were selected so that the entire range of

1

Shaw, Clifford; McKay, Henry. "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency" National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime No. 13 Vol. II p. 276, Washington, 1931.

delinquency rates, by Chicago areas, was included. No significant relationship was found between broken homes in the schools and delinquency in the areas. On the other hand, Shaw and McKay discovered that broken homes in this school-boy group varied with nationality group. Negroes had the highest rate of broken homes, followed in order by Mexicans, American Polish, Italians, and Greeks. Age was related to delinquency and broken homes. Ten year old delinquent boys were more often from broken homes than any other age group, while for older boys the difference was quite low. Thus, the younger the child, the more relationship there was between broken homes and delinquency. The following ratios of age and broken homes of delinquents show this:

Ratio of Broken Homes of Delinquent Boys Compared
with a Controlled Group of School Children

<u>Age</u>	
10.....	1.87:1
11.....	1.31:1
12.....	1.22:1
13.....	1.20:1
14.....	1.22:1
15.....	1.11:1
16.....	1.16:1
17.....	1.09:1
Total.....	1.18:1

There is some evidence too, that children brought up in institutional homes get off to a bad start. A study by Miss Bingham² reported that 100 out of 500 delinquent girls in Waverly House, New York City, had lived in for periods ranging from one to twelve years. This is a much larger proportion of institutional children than for the general population. Another fact operative in the case of institutional children is the lack of oppor-

2

Bingham, Ann T. "Determinants of Sexual Delinquency in Adolescent Girls" Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology Vol. 13, p. 584, 1912

tunity for equal intimacy of contact of all the children with adult supervisors, and the consequent likelihood of feeling isolated from the group. The sociopsychological effects of this may be antagonism and negativism of the opinions of others, with the result that delinquency is an "normal" a type of behavior in such children as adjustment to the rules of the group is for family-reared children.

Size of family seems also to be related to delinquency; that is, delinquents are from larger families than non-delinquents. Family size is by no means a simple factor, however, and may be related to other factors than to delinquency. Thus large families in most cases are poor families, families stimulating those children old enough to leave school to make their own way, in order to support the others in the home.

The economic situation of the home embodies a group of factors that seem to have definite relationships to delinquency. The general economic status of delinquents has received considerable attention. The definitions of "poor" and "poverty" vary somewhat, and the results vary also from 5 percent of delinquents in "extreme poverty"; and 22 percent in poverty, mentioned by William Healy and Augusta Bronner in the Chicago-Boston study,³ to more than 75 percent from "poor" homes mentioned by S. P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott.⁴ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck found similar large percentages for "dependent" and "marginal" economic groups.⁵ The data of Healy and Bronner showed that 35 percent of the cases were of "normal" economic status, and 34 percent of "comfortable" status.

3

Healy, William; Bronner, Augusta. "The Psychology of the Situation" The Child, The Clinic and the Court New York, 1925, p. 118-121.

4

Breckinridge, S. P.; Abbott. The Delinquent Child and the Home New York, 1912 p. 91.

5

Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor. 500 Criminal Careers p. 173 New York, 1930.

These last two statements make it clear that poverty alone is operative in a small proportion of cases and that other factors enter into the majority of instances.

A study of 10,000 Massachusetts school children of eleven to seventeen years showed that 70 percent of girls and 60 percent of boys found greatest pleasure at home, but the percentage decreased five percent each year as age increased. This study also sheds light on some of the home conditions which cause maladjustments and conflicts in children, even when the home itself is not broken. However, about three fourths of the children thought their homes faulty. The causes given in order for their dissatisfaction with the homes were "lack of companionship" (25 percent of boys 33 percent of girls), "too much parental control" (14 percent boys, 16 percent girls) "too much nothing doing" (7 percent of boys, 9 percent of girls), "crowded and bad housing" (7 percent of both sexes), "too many home duties" (95 percent average), "lack of play equipment" (4 percent average) "family quarrels" (3 percent average)⁶

It seems in short, that the home is unsatisfying to the child largely because of unsatisfactory parent-child relationships. Over 50 percent of all reasons given can be classified in this way, although this is not to say that all of the child's desire should be satisfied only for the sake of satisfaction of them. In fact, lack of control seems to be one of the most prevalent accompaniments of delinquency. Healy and Bronner, in a study of 4,000 cases, found 40 percent given inadequate control.

Another phase of home environment is husband-wife relationships. Healy and Gronner found slashes between father and mother to be unimportant

6

Massachusetts Department of Corrections Quarterly Vol. 5, pp. 1-3,6, 1929.

accompaniment of delinquency. Eleanor Johnson studied fifty two delinquent children and fifty two non-delinquent children of quarreling in the families of delinquents and none in the families of the control group.⁷ The number of cases was so small, however, that controlled studies are necessary to determine the relationships between parents in homes which have no delinquent children but are in other ways comparable to homes of delinquents.

Demoralizing home conditions represent another delinquency factor. A study of the Boston Juvenile Court from 1917 to 1925 found, chiefly by asking mothers, that 41 percent of fathers, 7 percent of mothers, and 6 percent of both fathers and mothers had been alcoholic at one time. The study included 2,155 families. Recidivists came more often from alcoholic homes than from nonalcoholics. Healy and Bronner found alcoholism, immorality, and criminality in the families of 21 percent of the cases studied.

Social status also is related in a definite way to delinquency. The offenses of children of the "upper classes" much less often end in public recognition and legal correction than those of "lower class" children. Mabel Elliott found that 63.3 percent of Sleighton Farm girls' fathers were in the lower skilled or unskilled-labor group, such as mill workers, miners, and teamsters while 36.4 percent were in the skilled group, such as farm operators, and metal-trades workers.⁸

For some years attempts have been made to measure neighborhoods on scales of "goodness" and "badness". A comparative study of 169 delinquent boys in a institution with 50 non-delinquent boys disclosed a slight differ-

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Johnson, Eleanor. "The Relation of Conduct Difficulties of a Group of Public School Boys to their Mental Status and Home Environment," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 6, p. 563, 1921.

8

Elliott, Mabel A., Correctional Education and the Delinquent Girl, Harrisburg, Pa. 1928, p. 30.

ence between the neighborhoods of the two groups. This difference favored the non-delinquent boys, but the overlapping was large.⁹ This method, like that of rating the homes, is not very reliable. The use of similar methods in the future should depend on a reliable scale.

But Clifford R. Shaw's study of Chicago delinquency areas reached a much higher level of comprehensiveness. Beginning in 1926, he found that delinquency was greatest in the areas around the center of the city, that is, in the belt of disorganized slum neighborhoods around the central business district. Outward from this slum body-this zone of transition from residence to business and industry-the rates of delinquency per unit of population decreased as the distance from the center increased, except for minor areas of transition found near decentralized industrial plants. This study also discovered correlations between delinquency rates and the family dependency rate, percentage of foreign born, rate of population increase or decrease, and other indices.

More recently Shaw, in collaboration with McKay, has completed studies of delinquency areas in several other cities of the United States: Philadelphia, Cleveland, Seattle, Birmingham, Richmond, and Denver.¹¹ This same general methods have been used for all, and the same general results have been obtained. The cities vary in size, composition of population, and topography, but transition areas and rates of population concentration were clearly related to delinquency rates in each instance.

9

Williams, J. H., "The Intelligence of The Delinquency Boy" Journal of Delinquency Monographs, No. 1 pp. 167-174, 1919.

10

Shaw, Clifford R. "Correlation of Rate of Juvenile Delinquency with Certain Indices of Community Organization and Disorganization" Publication of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 22, p. 175, 1928.

11

Shaw, Clifford, McKay, Henry. "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency", National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on the Causes of Crime, No. 13, Vol. 11 Washington, 1931. p. 276.

delinquents from the less congested ones, and adult and juvenile delinquents were found to be similarly distributed.¹³ However, the worth of the findings is more suggestive than conclusive, owing to the limits of the situation studied, the lack of concrete data, and the tendency to infer too much in the conclusions.

Shaw and McKay have more comprehensive data on this point. They combined foreign-born and Negro population ratios in the total population, justifying this procedure by pointing out that immigrants and Negroes are of comparable economic status and are unaccustomed to urban life. The correlation of delinquency with the percentage of the two groups combined was measured by a coefficient of $.61^{+.04}$.

Shaw has also discovered that areas of the city vary in other aspects of delinquency. For example, he mentions the fact that some areas have more of one type of crime than others, although this relationship is more tentative than that of general rates for all offences. Shoplifting is concentrated near the center of the city, particularly in the larger shopping areas. Homosexual practices, on the other hand, are found in the rooming-house area.

E. W. Burgess in a study of three thousand paroled cases also found a relationship between desintegrating criminals from slum areas more often broke parole than those from residential areas. This suggests that the community is not only a factor in producing a first offender but also tends to bring about a permanent crime career if the person cannot be prevented from returning to it, although such an interpretation is still tentative.

Very little attention has been given to the relationship between delinquency and religious training and experience. It may be that the amount

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Riley, Mary A. "Ecological Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," Social Science Monographs, Vol. I pp. 34-42 September 15, 1929.

of delinquency traceable to religious individuals is so small as to be of no significance. Or it may be that those who deal officially with delinquents are agreed that delinquency is not clearly related to religious factors. Perhaps a more fundamental reason is the difficulty of studying any essentially religious factor, such as the attitudes of the delinquents' beliefs, their knowledge of religion, their experience in attending religious services, or their knowledge of the sacraments. It is more obvious for religion than for some factors mentioned that the use of formal definitions is meaningless and that the essence of religions is so subtle and subjective that no adequate index is at hand. It is true that a really religious nature (without the inconsistencies of a dual personality) has little in common with delinquent behavior, especially if the religion is expressed in affiliation with organized religions. In such a case the factors of personal attitude and social adjustment are directed toward law observance. This necessarily follows in most cases for all organized religions because they are generally in agreement with the civil and criminal law.

However, the formal aspects of religion do not prevent delinquency. For this reason it is misleading to classify delinquents according to religious groups, as determined by the nationality of the family name, by the implied religious affiliation, by the actual affiliation, or by the actual affiliation of the parents. Thus the statements of Shaw and Myers in the Illinois Crime Survey are apt to be misinterpreted. Of the delinquents in a certain year 62 percent were Catholics, 33 percent were Protestants, and 5 percent were Jews; but the definitions were so formal as to be meaningless.

In terms of sex differences among delinquents, while extreme freedom is related to delinquency in both sexes, it is more closely related to delinquency in girls. Parents generally employ direct supervision and control over girls to a much greater extent than over boys. This may, more than any other single factor, account for the much lower delinquency rates among girls. When direct controls over girls are not exercised, their infractions of laws and regulations more nearly approximate those of boys.

The delegation of responsibility to adolescents is somewhat more closely related to low delinquency in boys than in girls, although it is related to both. This may be a reflection of the heavier responsibilities defined in the adult male role. As the adolescent approaches adulthood, the assumption of active responsibility has probably more meaning for the boys than for the girls.

Fifty-eight tests of significance were made of relationships by Francis Ivan Nye¹⁵ between freedom and responsibility given to adolescents and delinquent behavior. Of these, 17 were found significant at least at the five percent level. All are consistent with theory except the item concerning number of evenings which the adolescent was allowed away from home.

Summary Table of Freedom and Responsibility and Delinquent Behavior

Relationship	Consistent with theory	Not consistent with theory	Not significant
Mother-Daughter	4	1	9
Mother-Son	5	0	9
Father-Daughter	4	0	10
Father-Son	2	0	12
Not Classified*	2	0	0

*Ownership or availability of car

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Considering direct control only, it would be anticipated that the least delinquent behavior would occur in families in which adolescents are never allowed to go to social events by themselves, since this would reduce unsupervised time to the minimum. Generally speaking concerning giving responsibility, a middle way of enacting this but not discontinuing supervision and guidance entirely appears to be associated with least delinquent behavior.

In the Dolphin Club study by John Barron Mays, parental anxiety showed itself in two main ways. "There were, on the one hand, families where children had already broken the law and been cautioned by the police or brought before the juvenile court. Their concern was to prevent any further offences taking place. On the other hand there were the families whose children were not officially delinquent but were associating with bad companions or in some other way were thought to be at risk in the neighborhood."¹⁶

Although the majority of parents expressed anxiety about their children and said they would like them to attend club, not all were equally concerned nor were all entirely honest in their motives. A few were glad for someone else to take the responsibility off their shoulders and showed that they intended to get the most out of the club for the minimum personal effort.

The whole problem of recreation and amusements of juvenile delinquents as a class, is another social factor involved with juvenile delinquency, and is related in the problem of leisure time or spare time. The hours during which the school, the home, and the occupational influences are not operative in controlling and directing the child may be considered as a testing period of the general effect of the use of spare time. The most

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Mays, John Barron. On the Threshold of Delinquency, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1959

comprehensive study of the use of leisure time is that of Thurston, which was made in 1917 for The Cleveland Recreation Survey. More than 50 percent of the delinquents studied spent their leisure time in unguided and desultory pursuits. The conclusions from this study were, first, that delinquent acts were similar to others habitually engaged in during spare time, but neither more serious or leading to apprehension because of some unusual factor; second, that delinquent acts were suggested by habitual activities; and third, that money for recreation was often a motive for delinquency. Other conclusions were that group influences and school and occupational influences were correlated with delinquency. The whole problem is one of spare time, in a way, but group influences, and reactions to other uses of total time, should be considered in connection with these other uses of time. The danger of "unorganized" individuals becoming delinquents is illustrated by the Cleveland study. The lack of contact of institutional cases as compared with school children was especially marked. School children had about twice as many social contacts in their experience as institutional cases.

Closely akin to both the manner of using leisure time and the disorganization of the community are the character and amount of group contacts of children. Such contacts are especially significant to students of delinquency when the group is concerned is antisocial generally in the case when the community is disintegrating. Almost all boys have their play groups, and they are generally outdoor groups. For girls also the age group is of paramount importance in the understanding of group behavior and of delinquency. The group factor in delinquency has received much attention. Healy and Bronner in their study of recidivists found companionship a factor in 62 percent of 3,000 cases.

Shaw and McKay contributed more exact data on this problem in the report on the causes of crime made by the Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. The records of all boys brought before the courts during 1928 in Chicago were studied, the cases including all first offenders and all recidivists. The total number of cases was 1,886. The former offenses of the recidivists increased the total of offenses studied to 3,517 and in these offenses 5,480 boys were involved. Of first offenders 74.4 percent were involved with companions in part by others. Of the first offenders who committed their offenses alone, a good many later became group offenders, so that "lone-wolf" individuals were only 19 percent of the total.

The social relationship of the individuals in the intimacies of age groups and interest groups is almost as important as that of the home relationships. Next to the home, the age group embracing the same interests is most important in the understanding of delinquency. In fact, it is impossible to say which is more important in the modern city. The interest group is stronger there than elsewhere, largely because the family controls are more tenuous and the child makes his own group adjustment without the consent, and with only partial knowledge, of the elders. The interest group takes up where the home breaks off, and that in many cases is very early in life. The child's companions also provide him with a "world" his parents cannot or will not provide. Hence the child's most intimate and interesting life is that in common with a street group whose interests may range from harmless but disorganizing play to the extreme of delinquency.

As studies of juvenile delinquency have accumulated theory after theory of a specific determining factor or group of factors has been advanced generally with some actual study of individual cases. Critical

analysis and scientifically controlled studies have shown the relative and tentative nature of all single-factor explanations of such as home influences, school influences, the influences of companions, the influence of street environment, and so on. The fact always remains that no group of factors will explain every case unless what is meant is the total personality as composes of its factors. Healy long ago arrived at some such general conclusion in his study of individual cases. This look at the total personality through social casuation factors, will be the main emphasis in the present study, proceding further thought and testing in the prevention of recidivism.

According to the finding found by different authors on social causation factors, one would expect to find that nationality groupings are significant in delinquency rates, Negroes being of the highest significance. Age can also be seen in the literature reviewed as associated with the rate of delinquency. The younger a child is, the more likely there is an association between broken homes and delinquency. Children brought up in institutional care most of their lives is related, according to Ms. Bingham in her study, positively to delinquency. Family size, parent child relationships, husband-wife relationships, demoralizing home conditions, community disorganization, religion, type of placement in an institution, leisure time, contact with peer groups, all have positive relationships with delinquency, which one may partially see in the next chapter, though not all of the factors were tested, five were, in which the emphasis was placed on: Race, Religion, Age, Sex, and Type of Placement.

Chapter IV
Research Design and Procedure

The present study utilizes what might be termed modification of a social precommitment history model as the general research design.¹ Background history enables one for the purpose of the present study to analyze social causation factors, providing a number of variables to test for significance. The theoretical base outlined in Chapter II and reviewed in Chapter III of past criminology theories leading up to causative factors, provides the basis accumulating related data. The assumption formulated is one in which these social factors will help to predict the movement of a child in and out and to where more specifically, from the institution in the present study. This study, however, does not claim full predictive status. It is only exploratory research designed to further study in the direction taken by offering tentative conclusions on the predictability of background variables on admission, remaining, and leaving of children in the institution analyzed in the present study.

The approach taken here compared five social background variables of students in the institution with the movement of these children in general moving in and out of the institution presented in this study. The predictability of the variables is measured of the significance of reported associations.

The instrument used to measure significance of certain social factors on remaining or leaving is the chi square test in which raw data is taken

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Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.

from the files of the particular institution used for the present study, tables are set up, and significance is tested for the relationship between social background factors and the movement in and out of the institution. The concept of movement was operationalized in terms of items indicating admission, remaining, generally leaving (leaving to a situation of place in which the institution has no follow-up program) and leaving to different facilities in which the present institution studied does have a follow-up program. The variables tested were those of race, age, sex, religion, and source of admission. Moving from the general to the specific, two by two tables were set up. As more factors were tested for, two by three and two by four tables could be observed. The total number of students on campus at the time of the census, which was the month of December 1975, were categorized into the variables mentioned before. The background variables are rated by the institution in the file of each individual student. As mentioned above, a Chi-square test is used here to test the significance of an existing relationship. Briefly, this test indicated the degree to which actual values in cells differ from values which could be expected for each cell in a contingency table--taking into account the marginal totals. Significance at the .05 level is considered sufficient here for the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Research Procedure

The research described above was taken from each individual student file and a census taken for the month of December indicating how many students were on the campus at the time, who was admitted during that particular month, and who left and to where the children left to. This

month was used in the present study, as it was thought to be the best indicator of movement. December is a month in which many children leave to be with their parents for Christmas, and this is also the time that accounting procedures are beginning to take place and money is juggled along with children to present a good "face" to the government.

Each file on every child was looked at and background variables such as race, age, sex, religion and type of placement were extracted. The censuses for the month of December 1975 was also noted, indicating the number of children on the campus, if they were admitted, discharged or remained during the month studied. This information was only provided with the knowledge that references to names, including the name of the institution would not be mentioned.

The data obtained from these two sources, the files and the census, were compiled, tables constructed, and analyzed according to the Chi-square tests in March of 1976 at Sweet Briar College, Virginia.

Chapter V
Analysis of Data

In this chapter, the results of the analysis of the data under study are presented. The first section contains those variables which are significantly related to movement in and out of the institution in the present study and background variables, and the second section reports the results of analysis for those variables in which no significant relationship exists. For the purposes of presentation in this study, the dichotomy between leaving and generally leaving categories is conceptually equivalent to two categories of leaving to institutions still within the boundary of the institution and leaving to institutions still within the boundary of the institution studied, and leaving to an institution i.e. foster homes, in which there is no follow-up from Winston, the institution analyzed in the present study.

Significant Relationships

The hypothesis predicting a significant relationship between race and movement in and from the institution is verified because as Table 1 indicated, the chi-square value for the two variables exceeds the .05 level of confidence. It is significant then according to whether one is Negro, Puerto Rican, White or Other (in this case, Oriental) as to whether one stays or leaves, and where one leaves to. The Negroes it seems, proportion wise have a lower rate of any form of discharge than do those of any other category. This may be explained possibly by the fact that Negroes as a whole make less of an effort to improve themselves in order to leave.

Leaving is a form of reward at the institution studied here, because one has more freedom and more responsibility, and the child must show a capability to cope with these factors. It is a possibility, because the Negroes are the majority race wise, that they have built an environment among themselves in which leaders have been formed and so have some semblance of the type of structure in which they originally come from. On the other hand, the Puerto Ricans, Whites and Orientals (other), do not have much of a part in this subculture, and are therefore more unprotected by their peers, making them easier to help, and therefore more inclined to leave.

Table 1
Distribution by Race for Remaining and Leaving
from Winston

Variables RACE	REMAINED	DISCHARGED	SUPERVISED FACILITIES	TOTALS
			DISCHARGED TO	
Negro	138 (133.92)	9 (14.26)	21 (19.81)	168
Puerto Rican	21 (25.50)	8 (2.716)	3 (3.773)	32
White	4 (3.985)	0 (.4245)	1 (.5896)	5
Other	6 (5.580)	1 (.5943)	0 (.8254)	7
Totals	169	18	25	212

Chi-Square value - 14.80 P .05

The hypothesized relationship between religion and whether certain religious types remain or leave (broken down into the two categories) also

appears to be significant. Although religion was predicted to be misleading, religion in this case is significant since it can be observed as relating to race. Since most Negroes tend to be Protestants, then it follows that there would be a higher proportion of Negro-Protestants remaining than other types of religions. Since it was hypothesized that religion is hard to define, it also follows that there are more children who have other/unknown as their religion, and thus take away from the Protestant faith of those remaining. Again, the services are Protestant oriented, and have become more geared towards a "low church" type, which is one of less ritualism and conforming more to the lifestyle of the majority, i.e. playing a record of a black gospel singer instead of preaching a sermon. Catholic children go off campus to church and again it might be hypothesized that by keeping apart from the cohesive group and having special programs for them they may more easily adapt to the idea of making an effort to improve their behavior and leave the institution.

Table 2

Distribution by Religion for Remaining
or Leaving from Winston

Variable Religion	Remained	Discharged	Supervised Facilities Discharged to	Totals
Other/ Unknown	20 (19.13)	4 (2.03)	0 (2.83)	24
Catholic	24 (26.30)	5 (2.80)	4 (3.89)	33
Protestant	125 (123.56)	9 (13.16)	21 (18.27)	155
* Jew	0	0	0	0
Totals	169	18	25	212

*There were no Jews at the institution studied during the month of December 1975, and therefore no Chi-square test for that category was used.

Chi-square value = 11.27

P .05

The predicted relationship between source of admission and being admitted and discharged (divided into two categories) is also significant at the .05 level of confidence. While the direction of the relationship was not predicted here, it is apparent from the results of the analysis presented in Table 3 that although the numbers for admittance are fairly balanced in proportion to the number already in the institution, the number that are discharged or removed from the census during the month and discharged but still remaining in care at the end of the month are disproportionate. It can be suggested that those children of voluntary placement seem more often to be discharged out of the jurisdiction of the institution, and back to their home environment. It may be conjectured that more leave in this manner because of the way they were admitted. Being admitted voluntarily might mean that they were placed in the institution as a preventative measure rather than a rehabilitative one. It would seem easier to treat a child who has not yet committed a serious offense than one who has, and that this type of child would be more likely to return to his parents' recognition than to a further supervised institution. The court placement children on the other hand show movement, but within the supervision of the institution studied which may delineate concern by the institution, Winston, to make doubly sure of the child's ability to be resocialized into society. Children are sent to what are named "group homes" in which a number of children from the institution live in one house under the supervision of three or more counselors and are allowed to attend school in the neighborhood, but come back after school to sleep in the home. This is a way of slowly resocializing the children.

Table 3

Distribution by Source of Admission for
Admittance and Discharge
at Winston

Variables

Source of Admission	Admitted	Discharged	Supervised Facilities Discharged To	Totals
Voluntary Placement	4 (3.70)	9 (5.56)	4 (7.72)	17
Court Placement	8 (8.29)	9 (6.21)	21 (17.27)	38
Totals	12	18	25	55

Chi-square value= 6.0038 P .05

Non-Significant Relationships

In the cases of 15 of the 20 hypothesis, the null hypothesis definitely could not be rejected because the significance level of the chi-square does not reach .05. However, in two cases the significance level was only decimal points away and although one cannot deem these relationships as totally significant, it may be hypothesized that there could possibly be some relationship. But, in short, the relationships predicted for all the variables presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6 are not significant. There are certain chi-square values that are also not significant, but as stated earlier, with other possible explanations due to the closeness to the level of significance.

Three possible explanations are advanced to explain the fact that these hypotheses were not supported. The first explanation rests in the possibility that the literature which is used in the study as a basis for

formulation a hypothesis is not sufficiently related to the concept of movement as defined here. It can be seen, that although the literature does provide studies on causative factors influencing behavior, none, according to the reading which was done for the present study, show a relationship between actual movement in and out of an institution and background variables. It can also be noted that additional factors dealing with more background features were not considered in the present study.

A second reason advanced is that by using raw data one may lose the significance for a particular month since within that month factors might have been prevalent that would not show up in raw data, such as feelings of discontent by students, and the removal of those who are responsible for these feelings to other institutions.

The third possibility might be that by splitting the categories in a certain manner, other alternatives might provide more significant relationships, or possibly more that would manifest themselves by using the instrument, chi-square.

Table 4

Chi-square values for those hypotheses in which the null hypothesis is accepted

VARIABLE	REMAINED	DISCHARGED	SUPERVISED FACILITIES DISCHARGED TO	CHI-SQUARE VALUES
AGE				
PRETEEN	42	2	7	2.067
TEENAGER	127	16	18	
SEX				
MALE	119	14	20	1.0993
FEMALE	50	4	5	
SOURCE OF ADMISSION				
VOLUNTARY PLACEMENT	63	9	4	*5.0016?
OF COURT PLACEMENT	106	9	21	

*Those chi-square values that are followed by a question mark, are those in which there might be a slight relationship, even though they do not reach the .05 level of confidence.

These are all reported chi-square values not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

Table 5

Chi-square values for those hypotheses in which the null hypothesis is accepted

VARIABLE	ADMITTED	DISCHARGED	SUPERVISED FACILITIES DISCHARGED TO	CHI-SQUARE VALUES	
RACE	Negro	9	9	21	9.329
	Puerto Rican	3	8	3	
	White	0	0	1	
	Other	0	1	0	
AGE	Preteen	1	2	7	3.0096
	Teenager	11	16	18	
RELIGION	Other/known	3	4	0	9.273?
	Catholic	1	5	4	
	Protestant	8	9	21	
	Jew	0	0	0	
SEX	Male	9	14	4	.0131
	Female	3	4	21	

Table 6

Chi-square for those hypotheses in which the null hypothesis is accepted

Variables	Admitted	Remained	Discharged	Supervised Facilities Discharged to	Chi-square values
AGE					
Preteen	1	42	2	7	6.7093
Teenager	11	127	16	18	
RACE					
Negro	9	138	9	21	16.33
Puerto Rican	3	21	8	3	
White	0	4	0	1	
Other	0	6	1	0	
Other/ Unknown	3	20	4	0	
RELIGION					
Catholic	1	24	5	4	10.4939
Protestant	8	125	9	21	
Jew	0	0	0	0	
SEX					
Male	9	119	14	20	1.6204
Female	3	50	4	5	
SOURCE OF ADMISSION					
Voluntary Placement	4	63	9	4	6.0399
Court Placement	8	106	9	21	

It should be noted in Tables 4 and 5 that the "source of admission" and "religion" variables show a slight, though not significant relationship with admittance, remaining, discharge and discharge within the supervision of the school. Thus, for "source of admission" and "religion" there is a slight tendency for significance in these tables which is substantiated by other tables in which the chi-square values of religion and source of admission were significant. These variables should be subjected to further scrutiny.

SUMMARY

A significant relationship was found to exist between 1. Race, remaining and the type of discharge from Winston, the institution studied here. 2. Type of religion and remaining in the institution and 3. The type of discharge in relation to whether a child was a voluntary or court placement, using the .05 level of confidence as the value required for rejection of the null hypothesis. In analyzing these relationships, it is apparent that (1) Negroes remain longer in the institution and when they are discharged it is under the supervision of the institution. (2) following the previous hypothesis, Protestant children who are mostly the Negroes at the institution show the same tendency for remaining and discharge. (3) the source of admission being voluntary or court placement may show the imbalance of the type of discharge and why the institution follows this policy.

It was suggested that non significant relationships could possibly be explained by the fact (1) that the literature which was facilitated as a basis for a hypothesis might not be relevant enough to the actual gathered

data done for the present study (2) that through the use of raw data, significance of activities during the particular month studied might be lost, and (3) that in splitting the categories in the way in which it was accomplished, might have omitted an important significance that would not manifest itself otherwise.

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